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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1888 IN INDIANA

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In few national campaigns has Indiana played a more important and interesting part than in that of 1888. Not only did she furnish one of her sons as a candidate, but she was particularly agitated over both the national and local issues. Then she was a doubtful State whose vote would greatly influence, perhaps decide, the results of the election. Some even went so far as to say that the party which carried Indiana would secure the presidency and looked upon the State not only as a pivotal but a determining State. On June 9 Senator Voorhees said, "Indiana will cast 550,000 votes at the approaching election, and with that enormous vote there is simply a plurality between the great parties of 6,000 or 7,000, no majority, a bare plurality. You can imagine, then, what the shock of battle is there. The key to the situation is Indiana."¹

The great national issue of 1888 was the tariff. It was made the great staple of party arguments in Indiana, but there were a number of local issues and scandals which gave added life to the contest within the State. There was the question of the Democratic gerrymandering, of the mismanagement of the State charitable institutions, the Sim Coy tally-sheet forgeries, and others.

The campaign in the State started early in the year. Indeed, on January 2, a prominent Democratic editor of Indianapolis put forth a plea for close organization within the State and emphasized his belief that without it there could be no victory. January 11, a conference was held at Indianapolis, made up of two delegates from each county, appointed by the chairman of the county committee. Its chief purpose was to adopt plans for the uniform organization of Hendricks clubs throughout the State. During the latter part of the month Maurice Thompson who was travelling in the south published an interview in a New Orleans paper concerning the prospects in Indiana. He said that the Democratic party was thoroughly alive and harmonious all over the State and eager to atone for the carelessness which came so near losing the whole field for it the year before. The Republican party in Indiana

¹ Indianapolis *Journal*, June 9, 1888.

was well organized and led by strong men. Senator Benjamin Harrison was a very able man and within the last few years had shown himself a better politician than formerly. Harrison and his party were preparing to make a tremendous effort to carry the State in the coming campaign; but success seemed doubtful if the Democrats continued to hold together. "With Daniel W. Voorhees, Joseph E. McDonald and Isaac P. Gray in the field, a united party organized as the young Democracy will organize it, and a campaign like that of 1884, the State will give us 10,000 majority at the least."

January 29, the United States District Court convicted Sim Coy and W. F. A. Bernhamer of trying to get unlawful possession of the tally sheets in the Indianapolis elections the autumn previous. This was not the end but, in a way, only the beginning of trouble for the Democrats. Soon afterward the New York *Tribune* contained the following: "Two Democratic managers were sent to prison at Indianapolis Friday, for forging returns in order to secure a Democratic Legislature and thereby the election of a United States senator from that State. Mr. David Turpie votes in the Senate today, a bogus Senator in a stolen seat, because these crimes were perpetrated."²

This brought forth a burst of anger from the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, Democratic. It called the above statements lies and said that they disclosed the purpose and intent of the Republican scheme.

Blaine's Florence letter of January 25th was published on February 13th. It was received in Indiana with pretty much the same sentiment as elsewhere. Some few Democrats looked upon it as a shrewd move upon Blaine's part to keep his name before the public, but the Republicans generally accepted it as sincere. On the whole Indiana took Blaine at his word. The letter seemed to have no effect on the Harrison boom. Hon. William H. English said the letter would not affect the Democrats and added that either Judge Walter Q. Gresham or Senator Harrison would be stronger in Indiana than Blaine. Congressman Will Cumback held Blaine's letter to mean what is said and was for Harrison for the nominee. After Harrison he placed Indiana's choice on John Sherman. Incidentally he remarked that he, himself, was not seeking the nomination for governor but that he would like to be the governor of a great State like Indiana.

² New York *Tribune*, February 7, 1888.

By the middle of February Indiana politics were warming up in fine style. This was an unusual thing and all saw the intensity of the coming struggle. The Republicans began to see that by making secure Indiana, Connecticut, and New Jersey, they could do without New York.

The Indianapolis *Journal* was steadily putting forth Harrison as the Republican candidate for president. It was attacked on various sides for this favoritism. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* wanted to know why Harrison and not Gresham was the choice. The *Scintinel* gave the *Journal* a sharp raking for booming Harrison. "Mr. Harrison may have his supporters for the presidency but to say that he is 'the choice of Indiana', 'the only presidential candidate in the State', and all that sort of nonsense is an insult to the intelligence of the readers. The truth is there are more Gresham men in Indiana today than Harrison men."

February 16 the Republican editors of Indiana held their semi-annual meeting at Indianapolis. Here Ex-Governor Albert G. Porter was called on for a speech. He declared that the only living issue of the campaign was free trade or protection. "Deacon" Smith of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* was for an intelligent waving of the bloody shirt and declared that a Republican campaign on the tariff would lead to defeat. Langsdale of Greencastle and other prominent leaders considered the "bloody shirt" the supreme issue. Senator Harrison called attention to one question, now the most absorbing and prominent of the campaign,—that of the free ballot. He considered it not only the State but the national question. The editors were, on the whole, favorable to Harrison, but the sentiment was by no means unanimous. The majority was for an uninstructed delegation to the Chicago Convention and thought that a vote ought to be given Harrison at the start. This could be transferred to Gresham in case he developed strength.

The Republican State Central Committee was organized on the 16th with Mr. F. H. Huston as chairman. An effort was made to pledge the unanimous support of the committee to Senator Benjamin Harrison. But there were on the committee two pronounced Gresham men. E. D. Crumpacker and the Tenth District stood boldly for the Judge. Around Fort Wayne much Gresham sentiment was developed. The soldiers there seemed opposed to Harrison.

Many Democrats attacked Harrison as the machine man. They considered him, and his political existence, as the product, root and branch, of the worst element of Indiana machine politics. He was "by the machine, of the machine, and for the machine," and if the Gresham men wanted anything in the State they must first smash the machine.

On February 20 there was a conference in Indianapolis of a number of prominent party leaders favorable to Gresham's candidacy. Two days later the *Chicago Tribune* contained an editorial addressed to Indiana politicians. It asked those who were promoting Harrison if they had thoroughly considered his availability for the presidency, his strength among the people, his Chinese record, his prohibition record, etc. "Are they not making a mistake in pushing him instead of Judge Gresham, a far stronger and more popular man? On every point where Harrison is weak, Gresham is strong. He is a man on whom all factions could heartily unite." Truly it was as the *Hendricks County Gazette* said: Indiana was blest not with a favorite son, but with twins, while there were swaddling clothes prepared for only one.

March 8 the Democratic State Central Committee met. The date for the State Convention was fixed for April 26. The basis of representation therein was to be one delegate for each 200 votes cast for Isaac P. Gray in 1884 and one additional for each fraction of 100 or over.

The Prohibition State Convention was held at Indianapolis March 15-16. Jasper S. Hughes of Marion county was nominated for Governor. The platform contained planks for the annihilation of the liquor traffic and a free ballot unrestricted by sex. It declared against the levying of greater taxes than necessary for an honest and economical administration of the government. The Prohibitionists claimed from twelve to twenty thousand votes in the State.

The Democratic State Convention assembled on April 26, Courtland C. Matson and William R. Myers were nominated with little effort for governor and lieutenant-governor. The Hon. W. H. English then read the party platform calling for a reform of the unjust tariff, such civil service reform as would insure an honest administration, legislation for the greatest protection of the interests and welfare of the industrial masses, etc.

Congressman Courtland C. Matson, the nominee for governor, was at the time chairman of the House Committee on Pensions. He was born in Brookville, Indiana, April 25, 1841. After finishing the common school he went to Indiana Asbury (now DePauw) University. At his graduation he enlisted for the Civil War in the Sixth Indiana Infantry; after serving here a year he was transferred to the Sixth Cavalry and finally became its colonel. At the close of the War he studied law in Greencastle, was elected prosecutor and became a party leader. He was elected to the Forty-fifth, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses.

Capt. W. R. Myers was born in Ohio in 1836. He studied law but had hardly begun practice before the War began. He enlisted and served four years in the Fourth Indiana Cavalry; at the close of the War he returned to Anderson and took up his profession. In 1878 he was elected to Congress from the Sixth District, and four years later was elected Secretary of State.

Speaking of the Democratic Convention the *Indianapolis Journal* said, "Yet, this thoroughly Democratic and Bourbon Convention was controlled by and for renegade Republicans. The principal object of the Convention, and the feature of its work that excited the most interest was to endorse one of these for vice-president, and the point of next greatest interest was the race between the two others for the gubernatorial nomination, resulting in the nomination of one for governor and the other for lieutenant-governor. Gray, Matson, and Myers were all Republicans during the portion of their careers most worthy of honorable mention, and only began to serve the Democracy after they had ceased to serve the country."³

The Republican Convention met May 3 for the election of the four delegates at large. Ex-Governor A. G. Porter, Ex-Secretary R. W. Thompson, J. H. Huston and Hon. Clem. Studebaker were chosen. Indiana's delegation to Chicago was now complete. The Harrison men had used every device to make the delegation solid for Harrison, but had not entirely succeeded. Indiana's claim for Harrison was that her fifteen electoral votes were essential to Republican success and that her candidate was the only one who could make them sure beyond the shadow of a doubt. The Democrats had tried to make a great deal of the Harrison-Gresham struggle and to

³ *Indianapolis Journal*, April 27, 1888.

show how the Republican party was already split into factions. Many Democrats said that the chief obstacle to the nomination of Gresham was Jay Gould and that the Republican party would not dare nominate a man to whom Jay Gould was opposed. There was nothing objectionable, though, about Harrison. He had been a part of the machine ever since he had entered politics and had never expressed an independent political thought in his life. The Republicans denied this in a most unequivocal manner and maintained that the party was solid, harmonious and united.

The Prohibition National Convention was held at Indianapolis May 30-31.- Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey was nominated for president and John A. Brooks of Missouri for vice-president. The platform declared the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages a crime and that prohibition be secured through the amendment of State and national constitutions. It declared against any form of liquor license and against the internal revenue system. It advocated equal suffrage, and arbitration as the Christian, wise, and economic way of settling national differences.

Early in June the Gray men in Indiana started a Gray boom for the vice-presidency. His candidacy was not successful, however, and Grover Cleveland of New York and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio were nominated by acclamation at the St. Louis convention, June 6. As soon as the news of the nominations reached Indiana enthusiastic ratification meetings were held at Shelbyville, Terre Haute, Delphi, Muncie, Columbus, Greenfield, and many other places.

The Harrison campaign began in Indiana with the tearing down by hoodlums of Cleveland banners on a prominent thoroughfare in Indianapolis, about June 28. No one party, however, had a monopoly of the rough tricks. After a Harrison-Morton ratification meeting at New Albany, June 30, the Democrats got a Chinaman drunk and persuaded him to hang up Chinese lanterns, fire fire-works, and shout for Harrison for some time. The Republicans called this the "dirtiest, most contemptible, and dishonorable trick of the campaign."

There was an effort on the part of the Democrats to show that Harrison was unfriendly to organized labor. "His public career has been that of an advocate, supporter and apologist of corporations and monopolies." He had been a railroad attorney for many

years, and in the Senate was known as one of the railroad Senators. His votes against anti-Chinese legislation also showed his stand against labor.

Along toward the end of June an absurd incident took place which caused quite a bit of trouble. A certain company was exhibiting a large cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta. In some manner or other the figure of General Harrison was inserted in it. In reality the General was several miles away at the time of the battle. The Democratic stockholders especially became exceedingly indignant and raised quite a disturbance. It turned out that the stunt was the work of the manager of the picture, Mr. Perry. He thought that it would be a good place for a boost for the General.

The Republican papers of Indianapolis tried the 'State pride' plea to obtain votes. The *Sentinel* at once came back with the question as to whether honest Greenbackers were going wild with delight at being able to vote for one who in 1878 wanted them all committed to asylums for the insane.

By July 6 it was understood that Albert G. Porter had consented to run for Governor. The Democrats said that he was to deliver the Republican and Independent labor vote to Harrison in consideration for which he was to receive a seat in the cabinet when the latter was elected. They did not think either party would be able to carry out his side of the bargain. Porter was not a willing candidate. He would rather have been president, vice-president, Senator, or a foreign ambassador. In reality the Harrison machine hated Porter and only wanted him to pull Harrison's chestnuts out of the fire. Willing candidates were Will Cumback, J. M. Butler, General A. P. Hovey, and General Shackleford.

The Louisville *Post* of July 20 said that the campaign in Indiana would be interesting because there would be lots of boodle for distribution. The Republicans had W. W. Dudley at the head of the campaign and Dudley was a veritable synonym for boodle.

The Republican plan of campaign on the tariff seemed to be to take the manufacturing industries of the State, one by one, and tell the employees thereof that they would be ruined if the Mill's Bill (reducing the tariff) became a law. The attack started on the saw makers, then hit the tile workers, coal miners and starch makers.

When Colonel Robert S. Robertson of Fort Wayne heard of the Porter candidacy he became rather angry. He had been favorably

considered by the machine all the time, but now he felt his hold slipping. But July 29 Porter made public his declination of the gubernatorial candidacy. He said that he had served in every Republican campaign since the organization of the party, and that he felt sure that his friends would not press upon him a candidacy to which he would be averse and feel obliged to decline. It was thought that Colonel Robertson's attitude was largely responsible for this refusal.

The Republicans considered the Prohibition vote the last reliance of the "free-whiskey, liquor-league Democracy." Wherever possible Democratic money would be used to aid the Fisk-Brooks, third party ticket. A vote for the third party was a vote almost directly against temperance reform and for the freest possible free whiskey. The Democratic party in Indiana had been a consistent friend of the Liquor League and the saloon. The contest was to be one between the free-whiskey, saloon Democracy and the Republican party, a party which had taken every step that had been taken in restricting liquor legislation. The Democrats came back by attacking the "Free Whiskey" plank of the Republican platform. With the tax removed whiskey would come down to twenty-five cents per gallon.

August 4 the Democracy of Vigo county held its convention. After an imposing night demonstration Senator Voorhees, the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash", sounded the key note of the campaign. He delivered the regular party arguments against the Republican party. He tried to show that the history of the Republican party on taxation was the history of premeditated, organized crime against the laboring people of the United States. "The campaign on the part of the Democratic party is a war against the unjust taxation of American labor for the benefit of enriched idlers and pampered monopolists."⁴

At the beginning of August the Republicans were still in a muddle. General Hovey had made it known that he was not a candidate and did not intend to be. Many were still howling for Porter. Robertson was in the fight to stay. He had established headquarters at the Denison Hotel and started an active canvass. The Rev. Ira J. Chase of Danville was a rather seriously talked-of candidate. He was counted on for the support of the temperance dele-

⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 5, 1888.

gates and church people. George W. Steele of Marion had not declared his intentions as yet but would loom up strongly if Porter stayed out of the race. Porter's letter of declination had complicated instead of simplifying matters. In a speech to the railroad men August 4, he said, "Gentlemen, I feel that I must stand by my integrity."

Although the State candidates were attracting quite a bit of the attention of the voters of Indiana, the national candidates were not slighted. The Democrats, headed by the *Sentinel* were giving Harrison the time of his life. First, there was his Chinese record which was reviewed for the benefit of the laboring class. In an editorial of June 28 the *Sentinel* said, "The truth is that Senator Harrison voted against the restriction of Chinese immigration because he didn't want it restricted; because he thought the gates should be opened wide to Chinese as to all other nationalities; and because he was not in sympathy with the demand of American working-men for protection against competition with the Asiatic hordes which have reduced the standard of wages on the Pacific slope to the pauper level."

There were even graver charges than this for the General to face. He was accused of securing the naturalization of Chinamen in Indianapolis in 1880 in order that they might vote the Republican ticket and help Harrison secure the senatorship. At any rate six of only twenty Chinese naturalized in the United States were naturalized just previous to the election of 1880. Certain of the Chinese, still residing in Indianapolis, admitted the fact that they had voted the Republican ticket in 1880. Then came the attack upon Harrison's labor record in general. His position during the strike of 1877 seemed to be an especially vulnerable point. Senator Joseph Bailey made a speech at Mozart Hall, Indianapolis, August 30 which dealt almost entirely with Harrison and the strike. "He had an opportunity to expand to the full proportion of a friend and champion of labor. Did he do it? Let the answer come from as despicable a record as was ever made. Let it come from insulting harangues. Let it come from the pleadings of a paid attorney of railroads. Let it come from the tramp, tramp, tramp, of soldiers led by Harrison and equipped to shoot down railroad men at the word of command." When the Ohio and Mississippi railroad company went into the

hands of the receiver, Harrison had become the attorney of that official. In the final settlement, besides sums allowed the attorneys from time to time, Harrison had received \$21,000.

Early after Harrison's nomination it was rumored on the streets that he had said "That a dollar a day was enough for a workingman," "That if he were governor or sheriff he would force the men to time at the point of the bayonet," "That if necessary he would shoot them down," etc. Senator Bailey quoted letters from strikers residing in Indianapolis vouching for the truth of each of these statements.

Long before this, however, the *Journal* had given the lie to all such statements. Beginning with the issue of July 6 it ran an advertisement in the editorial column offering one thousand dollars to any man, woman, or child in Marion county, Indiana, or the United States and territories, producing the proof that General Harrison ever said "That a dollar a day was enough for any workingman." The *Sentinel* called this the "Thousand-Dollar Bluff," and added incidentally that it had never asserted that Harrison had made the remark in question.

The Republican State caucus met August 6. As a result it was made certain that Porter would not be a candidate. It appeared as though Porter had been misrepresented by his too-anxious friends. In an interview with Steele he had made it clear that he would not accept the nomination. Steele had profited by the withdrawal and Hovey was only mentioned now and then. The *Sentinel* represented the Republicans as being in quite a predicament. "Cumback is a fanatic on the liquor question, Robertson made a fiasco in the legislative contest of 1887, Steele is a smiling nonentity with a deal of assurance and a very small equipment of brains, and Chase is a bloviating humbug. Huston, Hovey and Lew Wallace have decided the game isn't worth the price."⁵

On the 7th of August Porter's ghost still hung around the Republican camp. He was kept busy all day refusing and made a final refusal to a committee which called on him.

The Republican State platform indorsed and ratified the action of the National Convention of Chicago. It then declared that "crimes against equal ballot and equal representation are destructive of free government. The iniquitous and unfair apportion-

⁵ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, August 7, 1888.

ment for Congress and the General Assembly, made at the behest of the liquor league of Indiana, followed by conspiracy and forgery upon the election returns of 1886, in Marion county, for which a number of prominent Democratic leaders were indicted and tried, two of whom are now serving the deserved penalty of their acts demands the rebuke of every patriotic citizen." The Gerrymander was then condemned and the actions of the Democrats in the last Legislature attacked. These were characterized as "revolutionary and criminal." "The will of the people, expressed in a peaceable and lawful election, advised and participated in by the Democratic party, was set at defiance, and the constitution and laws as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States, disregarded and nullified.—The alleged election of a United States senator was accomplished by fraud and forced by high-handed usurpation of power, the overthrow of constitutional and legal forms, the setting aside of the results of popular election and the theft of the prerogatives of duly elected and qualified members of the legislature. The stolen senatorship is a part of the Democratic administration at Washington, now in power by virtue of public crimes and the nullification of the constitution and laws."

The Republicans favored the passage and enforcement of laws which would prevent the competition of imported, servile, convict or contract labor of all kinds with free labor; the prohibition of the employment of young children in factories and mines; the guarantee to workingmen of the most favorable conditions of service, especially proper safeguards for life and comfort in mines and factories, on railroads and in all hazardous occupations. They also desired the reduction of hours wherever practicable and the submission to just and impartial arbitration, under regulations that would make the arbitration effective, all controversies between workingmen and their employers. "Railway and other corporations should be subject to control through the legislative power that created them; their undue influence in legislation and in the courts, and the imposition of unnecessary burdens upon the people, through illegitimate increase of stock or capital, should be summarily prevented."

Another plank demanded that politics and legislation be kept from the influence of the saloon and it advocated local option, by

which the various communities throughout the State might do as they demed best,—either control or suppress the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

At 10:00 a. m. on the 8th, when the convention assembled the Porter feeling was intense. A night of caucusing had done no good. The account of Porter's final refusal fell like a wet blanket. For a while things looked favorable to Robertson, but during a recess the machine element united with the Porter forces and by giving the impression that Robertson was responsible for the ex-governor's withdrawal, helped in bringing about the defeat of the Allen county man. According to the *Sentinel's* account, Chairman Calkins was with the machine program and recognized all who wanted to second Hovey's nomination. In this way enough votes were secured to nominate Hovey. The machine didn't particularly want Hovey but was determined to defeat Robertson. Ira J. Chase was nominated for lieutenant governor.

The Republican candidate for governor, Alvin P. Hovey, was born in Posey county in 1821. He studied law with a distinguished lawyer, J. Pitcher of Mt. Vernon. He was a delegate to the Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1850-51 and took a prominent part in the debates. From 1851- to 1854 Hovey was judge of the circuit court, and from 1854 to 1855 of the State Supreme Court. He was United States District Attorney for the State under Pierce and Buchanan. During the War he was colonel of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of volunteers and became a major general in 1864. From 1865 to 1870 he was minister to Peru. Before the War he was a Democrat.

In brief, the Republicans stated the issues as follows:—

1. The gerrymander of the State for legislative purposes in 1885.
2. The infamous management of the insane hospital and its notorious prostitution for political purposes.
3. The usurpation of Green Smith, his bold theft of the office of lieutenant governor and the revolutionary proceedings accompanying it.
4. The wholesale corruption in the Southern Prison.
5. The Sim Coy tally-sheet forgeries.

In the Legislature of 1884-5 the Democrats had a majority on joint ballot of 46. Not content with this they redistricted the

State so as to give them a still larger majority, making a gerrymander of which Senator Voorhees said that he should feel personally disgraced if it did not give the Democrats a majority of fully two-thirds.

There had been corruption in the Democratic management of the State charitable institutions but the Republican account was undoubtedly exaggerated. "Nothing in the history of the State has excited more popular indignation than the prostitution of the Insane Hospital by a corrupt ring of Democratic politicians, including the abuse of the inmates and feeding them on maggots butter and diseased hogs supplied by favored contractors of the ring." As for Mr. Smith, his usurpation of the office of lieutenant governor was the most high-handed outrage ever attempted in the State. The Sim Coy tally-sheet forgeries were a part of the Democratic scheme to carry Marion county and to obtain a majority in the Legislature. The two imprisoned ring-leaders were regarded and treated as Democratic martyrs. Coy still drew pay as councilman from the Eighteenth Ward of Indianapolis. In this manner the Republicans stated the State issues.

Throughout the month of August great tariff arguments were put forth by both parties in their respective organs. There were long comparisons of the conditions of foreign and American labor and manufactures. The Republicans made a strong plea to the common sense of the workingman and said "He can't be fooled."

By August 30 the State campaign had begun in real earnest. On that date Matson made an address at Logansport. There was a big reception and parade. Enthusiasm was intense. And it was this way all over the State. Both parties were warming up for the final stretch. Pole raisings took place at every town and cross-roads. Bandanna clubs were organized. Very often considerable of the rough element made itself evident. In Monroe county the Republicans bulldozed the colored Democrats. There was much rowdyism in Indianapolis. Speakers were interrupted, insulted etc. There was no lack of speakers to interest the voters of the State. Besides the State candidates there were Gray, Thurman, Blaine, Gen. Sheridan, Anna Dickinson and many others. Governor Gray took the stump for the Democrats and argued against the tariff with all his might. The speeches that Thurman, "The Old Roman," made on his trip through Ohio and Michigan were

followed as closely by Indiana readers as those he made in their own State. Anna Dickinson worked all over the State for the Republicans. She attracted quite a bit of attention. The Republicans also had Mr. A. C. Rankin, a Pittsburgh Knight of Labor, at work in Indiana. He delivered strong tariff speeches and tried especially to convince the workingmen that they wanted a high protective tariff.

An incident showing the keen rivalry between the parties and speakers occurred at Fort Wayne. General George A. Sheridan was scheduled to speak. The Democrats hired all the bands in town and, being in with the officials, got possession of the court house steps where the Republican speaker was scheduled to speak. There was a counter parade also. At last, however, the Republicans scared up another band and had a parade in spite of the Democrats.

In the course of the campaign General Hovey did not escape unattacked. His weak point was found to be his homestead record. Section 22, Article 1, of the Indiana Constitution reads: The privilege of the debtor to enjoy the necessary comforts of life shall be recognized by wholesome laws, exempting a reasonable amount of property from seizure or sale for the payment of any debt or liability hereafter contracted; and there shall be no imprisonment for debt except in case of fraud.

With the exception of the last clause the above was reported to the Constitutional Convention of 1850 and adopted by 108 to A. P. Hovey and seventeen others. Then Hovey was accused of being exclusive, aristocratic, and unpopular. He had no personal friends. It was said that he claimed the soul of Napoleon Bonaparte. He believed in the transmigration of souls, and as he was born at the hour of Napoleon's death he claimed to be the great Napoleon reincarnated.

Besides this Hovey had to explain his action against the negroes and Jews. In the Constitutional Convention he had voted for a provision making it a crime for any negro to come into the State of Indiana. During the War he issued a proscriptive order as a military commander, against the Jews as a class. He excluded them from his lines and denounced them as mercenary spies, traitors, and bloodhounds of commerce. All this made good campaign material for the Democrats.

Towards the end of September certain Democrats began to take up the *Journal's* offer of \$1000 for the proof of any of the eight calumnies in circulation. The *Journal* said if these proofs were pushed officially,—by Thomas Taggart, Charles L. Jewett, etc., it would put up the money.

For some weeks the Republicans had been attacking Matson through his attitude on pensions. Matson had distributed throughout the State quite a number of copies of a pension speech made July 28 in the House of Representatives. The *Journal* said that this speech, though printed in the *Congressional Record*, and circulated as a public document under Matson's frank, was never delivered in the House. In this respect the speech was no more fraudulent than some other speeches, but what hurt was the fact that the speech attempted to prove that the Democrats in Congress and the Cleveland administration had been pre-eminently the soldier's friend. The letter, according to the Republican view was entirely in keeping with Matson's established character as a tricky politician and demagogue. "It is simply a campaign document, cunningly formed to deceive the old soldiers and whitewash the record of the Democratic party on the pension question. Colonel Matson himself, as chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, has prevented pension legislation as effectually as if he had been put there for that purpose, and probably he was."⁶ Continuing, the *Journal* explained that for years past the Democratic opposition to pension legislation had been "stealthy and insidious," but none the less determined and effective. The entire pension system was the work of the Republican party and not a pension law on the statute books had been passed but over Democratic opposition, secret or open. The committee on invalid pensions, of which Matson was chairman, was the graveyard of pension bills. Here they were smothered, strangled and done to death. Such, according to the Republicans, was the true record of a man who claimed to be the soldier's friend.

An example of the Republican method of arguing for the tariff was given in Indianapolis early in October. Millionaire E. C. Atkins was caught bulldozing his employees. He discharged Democrats from his saw works because they were not in sympathy, politically, with the members of the firm.

* *Indianapolis Journal*, September 28, 1888.

The tariff was still the paramount issue and came to occupy more and more attention. Long arguments appeared in both the *Sentinel* and *Journal*. These were widely circulated by the whole Indiana press. In the *Sentinel* of October 2nd there appeared a long article entitled, "Indiana and the Tariff,—the Experience of a Hundred Years." In this it was shown how the State had gained under a low tariff and lost under a high one. A lesson was taken from Ireland. Besides the religious wars, what had been most injurious to Ireland was the persistent taxation of that country for the benefit of English manufacturers.

For several weeks vague rumors had been circulating to the effect that the Republicans were going to colonize Indiana. The *Chicago Herald* of October 2 gave forth the startling news that two hundred Chicago negroes had left the Polk street depot on Friday evening and three hundred on Saturday. They were bound for various points in Northern Indiana. The idea was to colonize them throughout the State so that they might vote for Harrison in the election.

Throughout October there were big speech-makings, celebrations, and rallies of all kinds. The loyal supporters marched in uniform and at night there were long parades in which torches, transparent banners and colored fire figured prominently. Both parties were now working in all earnestness for votes. On the fifth, W. H. Smith, Secretary of the Lincoln League of Indiana sent the following letter to the clubs all over the State: "Is there not some Democratic voter you can win over——? I would suggest that your executive committee, or a committee of wise and discreet men appointed for the purpose, choose from among the Democrats in your section some two or more of them and systematically work to win them over. Much depends --upon your discretion, but work with a purpose."⁷ The Democrats had quite a bit to say about this letter but if the truth were known it would have disclosed similar methods on their part.

James G. Blaine spoke in Indianapolis October 11. A great crowd turned out to hear the noted Republican, and he and not Harrison was the center of attraction. On the following day Governor Hill, Democratic candidate for re-election as governor of New York spoke amid real enthusiasm.

⁷ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, October 5, 1888.

It is very amusing, to say the least, to notice the accounts the respective party organs give of the meetings of their parties. Meetings of hundreds, of course, were always reported as so many thousands. For instance according to the *Sentinel*, 50,000 people heard Thurman speak at Shelbyville, October 15, a rainy day.⁸ Another crowd of 50,000 was reported as greeting the Old Roman at Fort Wayne. This seemed to be a favorite number with the Democrats.

Concerning the Marion county campaign a member of the Republican committee said, "We have evidence to warrant us to believe that our work so far has brought about such good results that the Democrats can do nothing to give them any chance except to resort to those methods for which some of their party leaders in the past have been infamous." Each party thoroughly distrusted the other and tried to make it appear that it was the sole obstacle in the way of a fair election scheme. For instance, we learn from the Democratic papers that Chairman Jewett of the Democratic State Committee, unable to secure the cooperation of the Republican managers in any fair and practical scheme to secure an honest election in Marion county and the State, took, by direction of the committee, measures to effect that object. A committee of one hundred leading Democrats was selected to devise means of protecting the ballot box from fraud on November 6. The following letter, written by J. W. Huston, Republican State chairman, and labeled "In Strictest Confidence" appeared in the Democratic papers on the eighteenth:

Republican State Committee, Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 9, 1888.

My Dear Sir:—I am reliably informed that the Democracy intend at the close of the campaign to inaugurate the plan of circulating the most infamous lies and indulge in forgeries and other frauds that will eclipse the Morey letter of '80. We must anticipate their movements and should through our own newspapers advise our party friends of their base intentions, by so doing we will rob them of their thunder. I wish you would refer to the above as often as you think necessary. I think the reports that the Democracy are well and liberally supplied with funds, should be rigorously circulated, if the impression prevails that the Democracy have a very large amount of money, it will be found necessary that they divide generously to hold their own people. I am satisfied, too, that it is now proposed to colonize voters in various parts of the State and this should be given to our friends that they may be on their guard. We cannot be too vigilant; the enemy will fight desperately and resort to any means to win. What I have written is in the strictest confidence and for your own use.

Yours truly,

J. W. HOUSTON, Chairman.

⁸ *Sentinel*, October 15, 1888.

Early in the campaign the Republicans had said that a vote for the Prohibitionists was a vote for the Democrats. Now the Democrats said the same thing of the Union Labor party. The presidential ticket of this party was headed by Alson J. Streeter. The Republicans, according to their political opponents, made strenuous efforts to capture the organization of the Union Labor party and from all appearances succeeded. Large amounts of money were believed to have been used in manipulating the Union Labor movement. The Streeter campaign was pushed vigorously in Democratic counties and not in Republican. In this manner it was hoped to catch the Republicans who would vote for Harrison. Many agents were really in Republican pay as each one won over from the Democrats counted one half a vote for Harrison.

From the *Sentinel* October 30 came the following warning: "Men like Dorsey will come to Indiana again as they came in 1880 and disburse \$400,000 in the Denison house parlors to be used in buying votes, hiring repeaters, bribing election officers to stuff ballot-boxes and falsify election returns. You know that there are men in high office because they connive at such crimes and it is no secret that men honored by party are honored mainly because they aided the escape of arrested felons who were hired to come from other States to violate the election laws of Indiana." This warning to the voters was run in large print on the first page. The article then told of the coming of Mr. Dudley. "Dudley is coming" became almost as common a refrain as the same news about the Campbells. "A re-cast of the plotters of 1880 is on the bill-board of the Slick Six, with Dudley as the star in Dorsey's original soap act, at the New Denison for one week only. This company of trained ballot-box defilers has been reinforced by Rathbone, the Cincinnati election bully, and John Jarett, the juggler of workingmen's votes, of great experience."

Many copies of the *National Tribune* had been circulated in Indiana. It was professed to be published in the interest of the old soldiers but the Democrats said it "really was the organ of the ring that robs the government with one hand and applicants for pensions with the other."

The *Sentinel* of October 31 threw the Republican camp into a panic. In large scare-head capitals ran—"The Plot to Buy Indiana.—Dudley's Scheme of the Wholesale Bribery Re-

vealed In a Circular Letter Over His Own Signature.—The ‘Floaters’ To Be Divided Into ‘Blocks of Five’.—Every ‘Block’ to be Put in Charge of a ‘Trusted Man’ with ‘Necessary Funds’.—He to See that ‘None Get Away’, and that ‘All Vote Our Ticket’—The ‘Best Business Men’ to be Used as Stalking Horses.—Threats that ‘Some One Will Get Hurt’ if New York goes Democratic.—A Case for the ‘Fair Election League’ and the ‘Committees of One Hundred,’ Then came Dudley’s letter. It was set in the form of a circular typewritten letter, bearing the autograph signature of William W. Dudley, National Republican treasurer, to the chairman of a Republican county central committee in Indiana, and doubtless to other county chairmen and to the trusted agents of the Republican managers throughout the State. The following letter was produced in fac-simile.

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, 91 Fifth Avenue, New York, Oct. 29, 1888.

Dear Sir:—I hope you have kept copies of the lists sent me. Such information is very valuable and can be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends here that with proper assistance Indiana is surely Republican for Governor and President, and has resulted, as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary. Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters, and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality. New York is now safe beyond peradventure for the Republican presidential ticket; Connecticut likewise. In short every Northern State, except possibly New Jersey, though we still hope to carry that State. Harrison’s majority in the Electoral College will not be less than 100. Make our friends in each precinct wake up to the fact that only boodle and fraudulent votes and false counting of returns can beat us in the State. Write each of your precinct correspondents, 1st, to find who has Democratic boodle, and steer the Democratic workers to them, and make them pay big prices for their own men. Second scan the election officers closely, and make sure to have no man on the Board whose integrity is even questionable, and insist on Republicans watching every moment of the election officers. Third, see that our workers know every voter entitled to a vote, and let no one else offer to vote. Fourth, divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket. Fifth, make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, Nov. 6, to work at the polls, i. e. to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dumbfounded the ordinary Democratic election bummer will be and how quickly he will disappear. The results

will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay.

There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the National, State and County Committees,—only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results. I rely on you to advise your precinct correspondents, and urge them to unremitting and constant efforts from now till the polls close, and the result is announced officially. We will fight for a fair election here if necessary. The Rebel crew can't steal this election from us as they did in 1884, without someone getting hurt. Let every Republican do his whole duty and the country will pass into Republican hands; never to leave it, I trust. Thanking you again for your efforts to assist me in my work, I remain

Yours sincerely, W. W. DUDLEY.

Please wire me results in principal precincts and county.

The consternation created by this letter can well be imagined. That Dudley would sign his name to such a document was almost unbelievable, but Dudley was a bold man. The lists referred to in the letter were lists of floaters or purchaseable voters. The traffic in votes was open and frank just as if they were legitimate merchandise. The Republicans especially were excited by the letter. Some were for denying it and calling it forgery. The wiser ones argued that it would be better to repudiate Dudley. J. W. Huston, the Republican State chairman, wrote to the papers saying that Dudley had nothing to do with the management of the Indiana campaign and that he knew nothing of any intention on Dudley's part to address a letter to anyone in Indiana. Dudley himself denied the letter as a base forgery.

At the same time that this letter appeared a statement of Hon. John C. New to the Omaha Republican was made public. New said that a complete poll of the voters of Indiana had been taken and that the Republican managers knew just how big the float was. Also that they could be depended upon not to loose any of that element.⁹

Indianapolis Democrats claimed that after they had spotted the imported negroes the Republicans opened up a new scheme; Cincinnati repeaters were being brought in for Marion county.

The *Sentinel* of October 2 made known its offer of \$1000 to Mr. Dudley if he would come to Indianapolis and swear that he did not

⁹ Omaha Republican, September 27, 1888.

write the letter. Dudley made no defense beyond the details as copied by the New York *Sun* and *Times*.

November 4, warrant was issued by the United States authorities for the arrest of Mr. Dudley. On the same day Chairman Jewett received a telegram from Senator Calvin S. Brice of New York. It stated that a number of New York citizens, moved by the Dudley letter, had resolved to place \$20,000 at the disposal of the committee for the vigorous prosecution of every man in Indiana who would practice Dudley's methods.

Through the *Sentinel* Mr. Jewett offered \$5000 for the conviction of Dudley on a bribery charge or for inducing others to bribe the voters of Indiana. In addition \$1000 each for five others conspiring or confederating to bribe according to the plan set forth in Dudley's letter, was offered, and \$100 each for not to exceed one hundred persons who should bribe or attempt to bribe as per plan.

The Republicans attempted to draw attention from the Dudley affair by spreading the story that the Democrats intended to work the double ticket plan all over the State on election day.

November 3, three days before the election Chairman Jewett predicted the State safe for Cleveland and Hendricks by a larger plurality than in 1884. But Mr. Jewett was badly mistaken as the following table of the Indiana returns will show.¹⁰

<i>Counties</i>	<i>President</i>		<i>Governor</i>	
	Harrison	Cleveland	Hovey	Matson
Adams	1277	2936	1284	2929
Allen	5455	9692	5443	9685
Bartholomew	2742	3109	2730	3113
Benton	1626	1425	1629	1424
Blackford	1141	1232	1138	1233
Boone	3441	3324	3441	3320
Brown	661	1538	662	1534
Carrol	2607	2560	2608	2560
Cass	3822	4221	3818	4206
Clark	3206	3788	3202	3794
Clay	3711	3773	3743	3771
Clinton	3519	3278	3518	3276
Crawford	1445	1628	1447	1628
Daviess	2691	2689	2692	2698
Dearborn	2648	3531	2645	3534
Decatur	2663	2400	2660	2398
DeKalb	2879	3160	2875	3148

¹⁰ *Indiana State Journal*, November 21 and December 5, 1888.

<i>Counties</i>	<i>President</i>		<i>Governor</i>	
	Harrison	Cleveland	Hovey	Matson
Delaware	4227	2368	4220	2371
Dubois	1220	2986	1221	2984
Elkhart	4955	4464	4962	4449
Fayette	1953	1471	1948	1476
Floyd	2947	3824	2938	3834
Fountain	2608	2525	2610	2526
Franklin	1712	2872	1713	2874
Fulton	2053	2163	2048	2162
Gibson	2953	2721	2946	2723
Grant	3929	2990	3918	2982
Greene	2934	2659	2930	2665
Hamilton	3599	2412	3595	2404
Hancock	1986	2376	1985	2380
Harrison	2133	2529	2134	2526
Hendricks	3297	2083	3286	2079
Henry	3849	2277	3844	2284
Howard	3604	2002	3599	2197
Huntington	3559	3481	3567	3474
Jackson	2263	3235	2264	3235
Jasper	1604	1003	1602	1002
Jay	2811	2741	2810	2741
Jefferson	3321	2700	3313	2708
Jennings	2057	1598	2051	1603
Johnson	2168	2594	2159	2602
Knox	2922	3621	2913	3627
Kosciusko	4147	3081	4139	3080
Lagrange	2262	1516	2256	1506
Lake	2543	2068	2544	2072
Laporte	3722	4607	3746	4587
Lawrence	2356	1814	2225	1813
Madison	3436	3928	3436	3928
Marion	17139	17515	17021	17619
Marshall	2582	3188	2587	3190
Martin	1391	1558	1394	1555
Miami	3042	3492	3032	3495
Monroe	2054	1815	2050	1819
Montgomery	4011	3763	4006	3773
Morgan	2500	2077	2488	2080
Newton	1283	860	1282	861
Noble	3026	2979	3011	2993
Ohio	726	585	725	588
Orange	1779	1654	1778	1656
Owen	1632	1918	1625	1926
Parke	2764	2159	2772	2151
Perry	1974	2007	1976	2007

<i>Counties</i>	<i>President</i>		<i>Governor</i>	
	Harrison	Cleveland	Hovey	Matson
Pike	2197	2098	2209	2091
Porter	2427	2018	2427	2011
Posey	2369	2684	2411	2641
Pulaski	1223	1446	1220	1446
Putnam	2570	3016	2555	3024
Randolph	4629	2256	4628	2249
Ripley	2404	2381	2404	2381
Rush	2713	2292	2700	2299
Scott	743	1030	742	1030
Shelby	2877	3409	2879	3412
Spencer	2733	2685	2736	2684
Starke	834	904	833	904
Steuben	2352	1348	2351	1347
St. Joseph	4929	5257	4921	5256
Sullivan	1902	3382	1905	3377
Switzerland	1560	1637	1562	1629
Tippecanoe	5072	4281	5058	4287
Tipton	2042	2370	2038	2373
Union	1108	868	1104	864
Vanderburg	6027	5889	6109	5846
Vermillion	1730	1438	1733	1435
Vigo	6273	6102	6265	6106
Wabash	3986	2555	3985	2558
Warren	1847	1017	1845	1019
Warrick	2361	2557	2375	2551
Wayne	6138	3653	6132	3651
Washington	1847	2389	1847	2397
Wells	1926	2942	1915	2939
White	1942	2017	1943	2021
Whitley	2133	2325	2129	2320
Total	263,361	261,013	263,194	261,003

Of the ninety-two counties of Indiana, forty-two went for Cleveland and fifty for Harrison. Hovey carried forty-nine counties and Matson forty-three. Hovey's vote was 263,194 and Matson's 261,003, making a Republican plurality of 2191. It will be noticed that the Democrats carried Marion county. Cleveland's plurality there was 376 and Matson's 598. The Democrats carried both houses of the Legislature by large majorities. By excellent gerrymandering they also elected ten of the thirteen Congressmen as follows:

	Rep.	Dem.			Rep.	Dem.
District	Candidate	Candidate	Rep.	Dem.	Plurality	Plurality
1	Posey	Parrett	20627	20647	....	20
2	Braxton	O'Neill	16653	18537	....	1884
3	Sayles	Brown	15198	18272	....	3074
4	Wilson	Holman	16167	16905	....	738
5	Duncan	Cooper	17506	18210	....	704
6	Browne	Morris	23424	14302	9122	....
7	Chandler	Bynum	25500	27227	....	1727
8	Johnston	Brookshire	23084	23153	....	69
9	Cheadle	McCabe	24717	20267	4450	....
10	Owen	Zimmerman	19546	18390	1156	....
11	Steele	Martin	21900	22375	....	475
12	White	McCellan	19028	20139	....	1111
13	Hoynes	Shively	21206	21561	....	355
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			264,556	259,986	14,728	10,157

After the election the Democrats had little to say. They admitted defeat but were not discouraged and said that the fact that the Republican candidate was from Indiana was a tower of strength to the opposition. Not that any voted for him from "state pride" feeling but many expected favors in the way of offices, etc.

Harrison ran little if any ahead of the Republican State ticket. His own county went Democratic and his own precinct ran behind the Republican State ticket.